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XAAZ-24187

25 January 1950

DECLASSIFIED AND RELEASED BY
CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
SOURCE METHOD EXEMPTION 3B2D
NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2007

MEMORANDUM FOR: CDP

VIA: CS III

SUBJECT: Use Of Ukrainian Partisan Movement Against USSR

1. OSS is supporting the Ukrainian Partisan Army (UPA) as an intelligence source. The UPA and its "exile" group abroad, the Ukrainian Chief Liberation Council (ZPUNVR), are potential psychological warfare instruments. OSS and OPC interest in UPA/ZPUNVR were discussed at a meeting on 17 January 1950 in [] office. OPC personnel present: []

2. BACKGROUND OF UPA/ZPUNVR

a. Inside the USSR, the UPA reportedly consists of an armed band living a hand-to-mouth existence in the forests, aided by supporters in the towns and villages. Leadership is supplied by a general and his roving staff, who organize small-scale raids for arms and food. Attempts to propagandize the Ukrainian countryside have been made; examples of UPA leaflets brought out of the USSR by UPA men who have fought their way across the borders are en route to Washington.

b. Outside the USSR, the ZPUNVR aspires to be internationally recognized as the standard-bearer for a Ukrainian independence movement. (The secretary of the ZPUNVR, Mr. Mykola Lebed, now lives in New York).

3. SUPPORT DESIRED BY UPA/ZPUNVR

a. Inside the USSR: Food, clothing, medicine, arms, ammunition, a printing press.

b. Outside the USSR:

(1) Black radio facilities as near as possible to the Carpathian Ukraine; similar facilities for the UPA inside the USSR when feasible.

(2) Re-establishment of and subsidy for the Ukrainian Tribune, a CP journal which had a circulation of 15,000 when it collapsed for lack of funds in 1949.

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ABSTRACT	X	INDEX

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4. **OSO INTENTIONS**

a. OSO will trade air drops of food, medicine, clothing, arms, ammunition and communications equipment for intelligence.

b. Continuance of recruiting and training of agents, to be dropped beginning in the summer of 1950.

5. **FACTS BEARING ON THE SITUATION**

a. UPA/ZPUNVR groups will continue their propaganda activity as long as they exist. Consequently, OPC's interests would probably be best served by establishing and increasing influence over the movement, with the aim of directing its propaganda toward a line compatible with US policy.

b. Whether or not OPC joins OSO in supporting UPA, CIA intelligence requirements will force OSO commitments independently. If OPC does not take the initiative in supplying propaganda (or, less desirably, small presses), or if it does not at least make an attempt to influence UPA/ZPUNVR propaganda orientation, control will go by default to the partisan movement. In that case, Ukrainian separatism will be emphasized at the expense of propaganda against the Kremlin clique.

6. **PROJECT POSSIBILITIES**

a. Support of the UPA jointly with OSO. The purpose of this project is to aid the clandestine activities of UPA partisans. These activities include:

(1) Development of an underground communications network, concentrated in the Carpathian Ukraine, suitable for OPC use.

(2) Clandestine distribution of leaflets, stickers, and other propaganda materials directed against the Soviet regime.

(3) Operation of a black radio at some future date.

b. Support of the ZPUNVR. The purpose of this project is to orient ZPUNVR propaganda activities to assist US policy objectives in the USSR and Western Europe. These activities include:

(1) Publications of a newspaper in Ukrainian, with overt distribution outside the Ukraine, covert within.

(2) Operation of black mobile radio, in areas as close to UPA territory as is feasible.

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c. A and B combined.

d. English-language publicity for UPA/UPUVR resistance. The purpose of this project is to publicize UPA/UPUVR as a fighting, anti-Soviet movement to consolidate US-Canadian Ukrainian support. Dramatic, factual stories are available for placement with a writer. Security will not be jeopardized.

7. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

a. To encourage UPA/UPUVR men to broaden their support in towns and villages, while simultaneously playing down their suicidal use of violence.

b. To educate the UPA underground to a policy of waiting, finding out who their friends are, insinuating their men into minor government and Party posts if possible.

c. To support the UPA/UPUVR effort among US-Canadian Ukrainians.

8. RECOMMENDATIONS

a. Continuing conferences with OSO on current developments in their dealings with UPA.

b. Contact with the secretary of the UPUVR, Mr. Lobed, to seek out a common ground between the UPA/UPUVR and other Russian emigre movements for a unified anti-Soviet propaganda orientation.

c. Preparation of project outlines as suggested in para. 6, following preparation of FD II's USSR policy-guidance paper.

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